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ABSTRACT

Finnish visual verbs and the corresponding terms in English are examined to reveal similarities and dissimilarities in the two semantic fields on the basis of translation equivalence. The contrastive analysis describes how the vocabularies of two genetically unrelated languages interpret the visual activity of seeing and looking, and what kind of aspects the terms indicating vision reflect of that visual experience. The verbs are divided into three main categories: verbs expressing the faculty of sight, perceptional seeing, and intentional seeing. Within these main categories, the verbs have been further classified into subcategories on the basis of their semantic properties. All of the Finnish subcategories of perceptional seeing have corresponding categories in English. One category which is not represented in the Finnish field concerns the idea of failing to see something. English perceptional verbs appear to be generally more specific than the corresponding Finnish terms. The quantity of verbs of intentional seeing exceed the number of verbs of perceptional seeing in both languages. (SW)

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FINNISH AND ENGLISH VERBS OF VISION

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INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the description of two semantic fields: a field consisting of the Finnish visual verbs and that of the corresponding terms in English. Its purpose is to reveal similarities and dissimilarities in the two semantic fields on the basis of translation equivalence. The paper describes how the vocabularies of two genetically unrelated languages interpret the visual activity of seeing and looking, and what kind of aspects the terms indicating vision reflect of that visual experience.

The Finnish verbs selected for the analysis have been gathered from Nykysuomen sanakirja (NSS) on the basis of their occurrence in present-day Finnish. Such verbal expressions which are formed by a combination of a non-visual verb and a noun implying vision were not considered unless these terms indicate a whole separate category of verbs, as is the case with phrases such as pistää silmään, kiinnittää huomiota, etc. The verbs compared have been divided into three main categories: (1) verbs expressing the faculty of sight, (2) perceptional seeing and (3) intentional seeing. Within these main categories, the verbs have been further classified into sub-categories on the basis of their semantic properties. The verbs are so varied that any classification is bound to be arbitrary and over-simplified. As the context always plays an important role in the determination of word-meanings, every verb discussed below has been put into some context, i.e. into a sentence. The English equivalent has then been establisned by translating the Finnish example into English. In many cases the use of the oblique indicated that the substitutable words have a similar meaning, so that they can be used in place of each other without much affecting the meaning of the whole sentence. After establishing the equivalence the two translations have been analysed to find similarities and dissimilarities. The Finnish examples serve to describe the use of each verb in contexts where they are most likely to appear and the less common ranges of usage are disregarded.

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The method which is often used to analyse and describe the semantic structure of a language is componential analysis (see Leech 1976: 96, 106-107). Componential analysis has also been used as an approach for a description of the Finnish and English verbs of vision. Meaning relation is based on multiple taxonomy. The semantic marker which all the verbs in this study include is 'vision'. A further analysis has been made on the basis of distinctive features, after which each verb has been grouped according to the components which it shares with other words of the lexical set.

THE FACULTY OF SIGHT

The condition for visual perception is that we have eyes capable of perceiving the outside world, its shape, colour, spatial position, movement, etc. The faculty of sight, the opposite of blindness, is expressed in Finnish by the verb nähdä. It conveys that we are able to get information about the physical world through our sense of sight. The following examples illustrate the use of nähdä:

(1) Sokea ei näe. (NSS III)
A blind person cannot see.

(2) Näkee vain vasemmalla silmällään. (NSS III)
He can see only with his left eye.

An adverb often gives a more detailed description of one's faculty of sight, for instance to see well, badly, clearly, distinctly, etc.

(3) Näen paremmin laseillani kuin ilman niitä.
I can see better with my glasses that without them.

The power of sight is expressed by one verb in both languages and the verbs nähdä and to see seem to be used in the same kind of contexts. There is, however, one difference in the use of to see. When it reflects to one's faculty of sight English uses the auxiliary can/could. Palmer (1974: 117), when analysing the use of can, also refers to perceptual verbs and says that the modal is used with verbs of sensation, but that is does not add anything to the meaning of the simple verb. He, however, compares the use of can with perceptual verbs to the ability usage of can and gives an example

(4) I can see the finest dots on the paper.

According to Palmer (1974: 117) can could imply either that the person sees the spots at this moment or that he is able to see them in general. When can is used in the context of the ability to see, it could be assumed to derive something from its ability usage, as for instance in:

(5) It was getting dark and I couldn't see to read. (ALD 898)

The Finnish equivalent would be:

Oli tulossa pimeä, enkä nähnyt lukea.
*...enkä voinut nähdä lukea.

and thus can is not translated into Finnish at all.

PERCEPTIONAL SEEING

The verbs of this paper have been divided into two other main categories: perceptional seeing and intentional seeing. These two categories not only differ in terms of a semantic feature on the surface but the distinction accounts for the semantic and syntactic relationships between the elements of the clause in the deep structure. This is shown by Fillmore who introduces ideas about 'universal' base rules (see Fillmore 1968: 21). The deep-structure syntactic relationships of nominal phrases are not interpreted by the grammatical terms 'subject/object' but, instead, Fillmore calls them case 'roles', which are of universal character. For instance, the cases which are of importance from the standpoint of characterizing the visual verbs under discussion are Agentive (A), Dative (D) and Objective (O). Thus in the two following examples

(1) I can see a ship in the distance. (DO)
(2) I'm looking at a ship in the distance. (DO)

the grammatical subject "I" in (1) coincides with the corresponding element in (2), but their deep-structure roles are different. "I" in (1) is Dative or 'recipient' as, for instance, Quirk (1973: 172) calls the role of the perceptual verbs, whereas the verb in (2) requires an agentive subject. The verbs discussed in the category of perceptional seeing are thus the verbs with 'recipient' or Dative and are, according to Lakoff (Fillmore: 31), called 'stative'.

Neutral state. - The subdivision of perceptional seeing has been made on the basis of the activity of the subject and object in the process of perceiving. The category 'neutral state' refers to verbs which describe the perception occurring independently of the observer's effort to see something special in the field of vision or without any striking stimulus, which would immediately cause a visual perception, i.e. wher he opens his eyes, he 'sees'.

NÄHDÄ: Nähdä as a perceptional verb means 'to obtain a visual impression, either with or without fixing the attention'.

(6) Näin kaiken omin silmin.
I saw everything with my own eyes.

Example (6) refers to a situation where there is no indication of difficulty in perceiving the objects and persons round about. The English equivalent of nähdä is to see. Quite often the process of perceiving includes not only vision but also the use of the mind.

(7) Lehdestä näin, että isäsi oli kuollut. (NSS III)
I saw from a newspaper that your farther had died.

(8) Hänestä näkee heti, että hän on ulkomaalainen. (NSS III)
You can see immediately that he is a foreigner.

When it deals with gaining some knowledge or drawing conclusions on the basis of external signs the English counterpart of nähdä seems to be to see, before which English adds the auxiliary can, could. According to Quirk (1973: 53), the auxiliary can used in connection with some perceptual verbs implies the progressive aspect. Leech (1974: 20) explains tne difference between the use of can and the simple verb by giving an example.

(9) I could see/saw through the window.

Here the could form implies a state, whereas the Simple Past refers to an event.

Nähdä can also mean 'to experience, to gain knowledge by seeing something'. This verb, besides covering a visual experience, can include more, even one's personal participation in some event.

(10) Hän on nähnyt kaksi sotaa.
He has seen two wars. (WY 1080)

Nähdä is often used in the sense 'to meet'.

(11) Olen erittäin iloinen nähdessäni sinut.
I am very pleased to see you. (WY 1080)

Examples (10) and (11) indicate similarities in the usage of nähdä and see.

NÄKYÄ: NSS defines the verb näkyä as follows: 'to be visible, distinguishable to the eye, to be in the field of vision'. According to NSS, näkyä is a passive verb. It implies action in which the subject is an inactive participant but which nevertheless is reflected onto the subject (see also Penttilä 1963: 534).

(12) Tuolla näkyy talo. (NSS III)
(12a) *A house makes itself be seen.
(12b) You can see a house there.
(12c) A house can be seen there.

The translation (12a) above tries to convey the idea of näkyä in (12). It is, nowever, unacceptable due to the passive subject in the action implied by näkyä. There seems to be no English verb which formally corresponds to the Finnish verb näkyä.

In (12b) and (12c) it is translated by to see and the auxiliary can. English here uses either a passive construction or an indefinite pronoun as in (12b), depending on the context and who is considered to be the perceiver or the 'recipient'. In example (13) below the obvious 'recipient' is the first person singular.

(13) Pojat näkyvät jo palaavan. (NSS III)
I see the boys coming back already.

Näkyä can also mean 'to be evident, to learn something through the sense of sight'. What is seen or learnt is not always a concrete thing but can, instead, be something abstract, which has concrete visual manifestations.

(14) Hänen silmistään näkyy, milloin hän valehtelee.
You can see from his eyes when he is telling lies.

Näkyä, like the verbs nähdä and to see, can also have the meaning of a social contact similar to example (11):

(15) Onko Pekkaa näkynyt täälläpäin? (NSS III)
Have you seen Pekka round here?

The range of uses for the Finnish näkyä seems to be quite wide. It actually covers almost the same area as nähdä. Thus, in a similar way to nähdä it usually takes can/could as its English equivalent. Mostly due to the indefinite character of the subject suggested by näkyä this equivalent appears in the passive construction or in connection with an indefinite pronoun you, one, we or they.

NÄYTTÄÄ: This verb according to NSS means 'to give a subjective visual impression through the sense of sight and to have a certain appearance, or to resemble somebody or something'. If one looks this verb up in a Finnish - English dictionary one usually finds three English verbs for it: look, seem and appear. One feature they have in common is that they are all more or less antonyms of to be certain, real of true, or to be the fact.

Look, seem and appear differ syntactically from other verbs discussed in this paper. To be semantically complete they require an obligatory subject complement and are thus called copulas (Bald 1972: 68, 75, Quirk 1973: 353). The syntactic description of näyttää also follows the definition of a copula (see Penttilä 1963: 608).

(16) Hän näyttää aina onnelliselta.
He always seems/looks/appears happy.
(17) Isä näyttää minusta aika sairaalta.
Father seems/looks/appears to me rather ill.

Seem, look and appear are often used interchangeably with no apparent difference in meaning. A closer scrutiny, however, shows that the meanings are not identical, not even in (16) and (17). According to HEWD (1971: 1419), seem refers to the use of the mind and suggests hesitance and a personal opinion, while look implies that the opinion is more purely based on a visual impression only. Appear denotes a more definite statement than seem, but is more hesitant than look. The dependence on the context and the shades of meaning indicated by these English copulas has been investigated in detail by Bald (1972: 48, 69, 80-81). (See also Quirk 1973: 353, Poutsma 1928: 6.)

There follows a short account of the verbs which are sometimes used as synonyms of nähdä, but which more often include a stronger mental registration . Such verbs are huomata, havaita, todeta, panna merkille, hoksata, äly-

ta and akata. Some of them can also imply some other aspect in the process of perception, such as, for instance, suddenness.

HUOMATA and HAVAITA: Both verbs mean 'to become aware of something through the senses, especially by sight'.

(18) Huomasin heti, että olet sairas. (NSS I)
I noticed/perceived at once that you were ill.

(19) Hän hätkähti minut havaitessaan. (NSS I, 392)
He started on noticing me/spotting me/catching sight of me.

Becoming aware of something can be expressed in English by several verbs. Notice in (18) implies perception happening by chance. Perceive has a definite implication of recognition and conveys mental action, but also a simultaneous visual perception (WEB: 734). Spot in (19) implies seeing and recognition at the same time and refers to some difficulty in seeing, as a result of distance, background etc. (ALD: 973), whereas to catch sight of has an implication of suddenness.

There are two verbs, todeta and panna merkille, which differ most from the other verbs of this category as regards the mental activity during visual perception. Thus the subject in both cases can be marked with the feature 'human', but an example will be given of the latter only, as it has perhaps even stronger implications of the use of the mind.

(20) Panin merkille hänen hermostuneisuutensa.(NSS III, 449)
I noticed/remarked/observed his nervousness.

When the Finnish verb of vision implies mental registration and remembering along with visual perception as in (20), English makes use of the verbs remark, note and observe. Regarding the agency of the mind, note conveys mental implications most strongly, sometimes having the meaning 'to take mental note of' (WEB: 734). Remark, too, has an element of mental registration but it is not as apparent as in note. Observe of these three verbs least implies the use of the mind.

HOKSATA and similar verbs: Such Finnish verbs as hoksata, älytä, akata and osua are synonyms of huomata and often refer to a more or less sudden or quick perception, which often occurs by chance.

(21) Hän heti hoksaa kuvien pienimmätkin yksityiskohdat.
He at once notices/sees/picks out the slightest details in pictures.

The colloquial term hoksata has in (21) been translated by see, notice and pick out. See merely implies becoming aware of something. Notice usually suggests a sudden accidental perception, whereas pick out refers to the background and means 'to distinguish one person or thing from others or from the surroundings' (RH: 1089).

An English verb which can be added here but which lacks a one - word counterpart in Finnish is to overlook. It implies failing to notice something (RH: 1028) and represents a type of verb which is not included in the Finnish lexical field.

(22) I overlooked a misspelt word.

Finnish would put this by using the negative expression of the verb huomata.

Active subject. - The verbs included in the category 'active subject' are distinguished from the former group on the basis of the activity of one participant in the perceptual progress. These verbs refer to an active observer, 'recipient', who as a result of his own effort and after active looking perceives an object in his field of vision. Besides nähdä there are several verbs which refer to perceiving something as a result of an effort, and only those that reveal something new of the character of these verbs are exemplified below.

EROTTAA: Erottaa when used visually means 'to see something apart from its background'. Erottaa usually refers to an object which may be in the distance and partly hidden or unclear because of its background, darkness, etc.

(23) En erota niin kaukana olevia esineitä.
I cannot distinguish things so far away. (RHD 417)

(24) He erottivat purjeen horisontissa.
They discerned a sail on the horizon. (RHD 409)

(25) Erotimme hahmon pimeässä.
We made out a figure in the darkness. (ALD 594)

(26) Erotin sinut jo kaukaa. (NSS I)
I spotted you from a long way off.

In these examples (23 - 26) there are four different terms for the Finnish erottaa. To distinguish in (23) means 'to see objects apart from each other and from the background' (RH: 417). To discern not only implies distinguishing but also recognizing. It usually suggests some difficulty in seeing because of, for

example, darkness or distance (RH: 986). To make out as in (25) indicates seeing with difficulty and conveys seeing something against the background or in the distance (WY: 700). To spot as indicated above can be used about accidental, sudden perception, but it can also refer to perception occuring as a result of active looking. (RH: 1376).

HAHMOTTAA: This verb, which is often used as a psychological term, implies the observer's effort to obtain a clear and organized perception either through the sense of sight or hearing, or through thinking. During the process of perception the object or the outline becomes gradually clear so that the observer finally sees it as a whole.

(27) En hahmottanut kuviota oikein.
I couldn't see the figure clearly.

English lacks a verb which could express one's ability to arrange different shapes and colours into an organized whole, so that the idea of this visual process must be conveyed by other means. In the translation of (27) English uses the verb to see with the auxiliary can and adds the adverb clearly to indicate that the object is seen, even if not distinctly.

HAHMOTTUA and EROTTUA: Like näkyä these derivations of the two previous verbs are passive verbs. As passive and reflexive verbs differ, however, only with regard to the activity of the subject - the reflexive verbs indicate action which is instigated by the subject and reflected onto the subject, whereas the passive verbs imply action in which the subject is inactive participant - the reflexiveness is an essential, if not the only, part in the meaning of these verbs, and thus they could be called pseudo-reflexives as well. Erottua means 'to be perceptible by the senses, to be distinguishable, discernible'. The meaning of hahmottua can be defined 'to be seen clearly as an organized whole, to have a clear shape'.

As pointed out above English often uses a passive construction or an indefinite pronoun to correspond to the Finnish pseudo-reflexives. Besides the perceptual verb in passive constructions English can apply other means to convey the meaning of verbs like erottua and hahmottua.

(28) Rannikko tuskin erottui usvan läpi.
The coast was hardly distinguishable through the haze. (ALD 288)

The verb to be + the adjective distinguishable render the semantic content of erottua into English in (28).

(29) Ratsastaja hahmottui usvasta. (NSS I)

(29a) You could see/make out the figure of a rider through the fog.

As hahmottua suggests some difficulty in perception this idea can be conveyed by the English verb make out, whereas to see is neutral as far as the manner of perceiving is concerned. The noun figure, which has been added to the English translation in (29a) refers to the indistinct shape of the object perceived. The way one sees an object could also be described by a non-visual verb to loom up, which means 'to appear indistinctly, come into view in indistinct form' (ALD: 581). Thus (29) could also be expressed:

(29b) The rider loomed up out of the fog.

KEKSIA: According to NSS keksiä implies either mental perception based on thinking and pondering or visual perception which occurs as a result of active looking and searching.

(30) Lopulta hän oli keksinyt minut väkijoukosta.
He had finally spotted me/picked me out in crowd.

In addition to spot, which includes features of seeing and recognizing and means here 'to see one person out of many', Eglish uses the verb to pick out. Pick out implies choosing from the surrounding persons and objects by the eye (RH: 1089).

(31) Vika keksittiin vasta suurennuslasin avulla. (NSS II)
The defect was detected only with the help of a magnifying glass.

Keksiä in (31) refers to a close examination and the result of the search. In this context the Finnish verb could be replaced by löytää which is not a visual concept as such. The best English equivalent for this kind of active search would be to detect, which also implies that the object has not been seen previously or known (RH: 393). The object referred to by the verb detect is marked with the feature [-human]. A feature [human] can be assigned to the object, when the verb means 'to notice someone doing something', for instance "to detect someone in a dishonest act" (HEWD: 445).

HUOMATA and HAVAITA: There are several verbs in Finnish which are used to denote accidental perception as well as to indicate effort. Such verbs are, for instance, huomata and havaita. The choice of the corresponding

English term depends on what aspect is emphasized in the process of perceiving.

(32) Häntä ei voinut havaita väkijoukosta.
You couldn't pick him out/spot him/see him in the crowd.

(33) Se voidaan havaita vain mikroskoopin avulla.
It can be detected/discovered/observed/made out/seen only with the help of a microscope.

To pick out in (32) has the implication of making a selection, and to spot refers to seeing one object out of many and also recognizing it for what it is. In (33) English provides the verb to detect, which always suggests a preceding examination. Besides detect English provides to discover, which conveys an idea of seeing something for the first time and finding something as a result of investigation (WEB: 259). To observe refers to an attentive mind used to discover something and can thus be used in a context like (33). To make out suggests some difficulty in seeing and conveys in what kind of conditions the perception occurs or what the object of perception is like.

Active object. - The feature which the verbs of this sub-category have in common is that they all refer to an object which differs so clearly from its background that it cannot be overlooked.

PISTÄÄ SILMÄÄN: This expression refers to an object with strong visual character and power to arouse attention.

(34) Kun astut huoneeseen, ensimmäisenä pistää silmääsi seinällä oleva maalaus.
When you enter the room the first thing to strike you/to catch your eye is a painting on the wall.

The verbs to strike and catch someone's eye imply a strong visual impression and are thus used as equivalents of pistää silmään.

HERÄTTÄÄ HUOMIOTA and similar verbs: Verbs like herättää or kiinnittää huomiota and kiintyä (katse, huomio) also indicate an object which, because of its appearance, arouses attention among observers and thus becomes an object of interest.

(35) Esiintyjän puku herätti/kiinnitti huomiotani.
The performer's dress attracted my attention.

Herättää huomiota does not perhaps imply such strong visual perception as pistää silmään. Rather, it also includes the use of the mind, as the term attention suggests.

INTENTIONAL SEEING

As opposed to perceptional seeing all the verbs of this category are marked with the feature [+intentional] and thus the semantic role of the subject is agentive, which implies the instigator of activity. The verbs of intentional seeing belong to the class of 'dynamic verbs', a term used by Quirk (1973: 21) for verbs indicating action or activity. Lakoff (Fillmore 1968: 31) calls these verbs 'nonstative', as mentioned above. Gruber (1967: 943) when discussing the distinction between the verbs look and see applies the term 'agentive' to verbs like look. According to him the criteria which distinguish an agentive verb from a non-agentive one are the following: look can always be substituted by the phrase do something; look is modifiable by a purpose phrase in order to; look can take a manner adverbial like carefully.

Continuous action. - KATSOA: Katsoa can also imply the duration of an action, meaning 'to keep one's eyes directed towards something'.

(36) Katsoimme illalla televisiota.
We were watching TV last night.

(37) Jalkapallo-ottelu, jonka katsoimme illalla, oli pettymys.
The football match we saw last night was disappointing.

Katsoa in (36) and (37) has two translations. If the Finnish katsoa refers to television its English equivalent is to watch. In (37) the object of attention and interest is a football match, in which case, the equivalent of katsoa is usually watch as well. If one wants to emphasize that the match was seen from start to finish, however, the verb to see can be used.

In the following examples katsoa has been used in other kinds of context.

(38) Tule katsomaan, mitä meillä on täällä.
Come and see what we have here.

(39) Haluaisin käydä katsomassa sairasta tätiäni.
I would like to go and see my sick aunt.

The range of application of the verb to see seems to be wider than that of the Finnish nähdä. See is used in the imperative in (38) where nähdä would be judged an unacceptable term.

*Tule näkemään, mitä meillä on täällä.

English accepts the intentional use of to see, which often appears in the imperative as in (40) and (41):

(40) See that the work is done. (RH: 1290)
*Näe, että työ on tehty.

(41) See Rome!
?Nähkää Rooma!

The Finnish translation of (41), even if doubtful, is quite often seen, for instance in advertisements. This and all similar cases where nähdä is used in the imperative must be the result of English and Swedish influence where the corresponding forms are acceptably used. This is what Penttilä (1965: 96) warns of when the imperative forms are used. As a process of perception is independent of one's will it cannot be used to denote an intentional action. The imperative of nähdä is allowed only when the verb is not used in the visual sense but in the meaning 'to understand, comprehend, etc.'.

KATSELLA: Katsella is defined by NSS as a frequentative verb derived from katsoa. According to NSS (1963 I: X) a frequentative verb represents an action as repeated, continuous or happening gradually. The quantity of frequentative verbs is largely due to the derivative ending -ele, -ile, which is added to the root verbs (Penttilä 1963: 310 - 311).

(42) Hän seisoi ja katseli ihailevasti muotokuvaa.
He stood and looked admiringly at the portrait.

The equivalent of katsella in (42) is to look at. It suggests that the object is looked at for more than the duration of a glance (WY: 686). Look at does not refer to any specific manner of looking but combined with an adverb, as in (42), the manner of the action can be specified. In the following example katsella takes as its object a noun referring to a place.

(43) Katselimme eilen Helsinkiä.
We were sightseeing in Helsinki yesterday.

To sightsee is a verb compound, a 'back-formation' from the noun sightseeing (Quirk 1973: 448), and means 'to become acquainted with the places by seeing and visiting them'.

Katsella often implies searching for some particular object by using the eyes, without necessarily any detailed or thorough search, as in:

(44) Katselin itselleni istuinta, mutta missään ei näkynyt vapaata paikkaa.

(44a) *I was looking at a seat but I couldn't find an empty place.

(44b) I was looking for a seat but I couldn't find an empty place.

Example (44) is an unacceptable translation of the Finnish sentence in the context above, for look at implies that the object can really be seen. To look for expresses that the eyesight is used with the intention of finding and seeing something.

Two more Finnish verbs which reveal typical features of verbs of 'continuous action' are exemplified below.

TARKKAILLA: Tarkkailla not only implies careful looking and observation but can also be a synonym for katsella when it is neutral with regard to the intensity of action.

(45) Tarkkailimme ajan kuluksi ohikulkevia ihmisiä.
To kill time we observed/watched the people passing by.

To watch is used because the Finnish sentence implies that something is happening all the time. Observe like watch indicates attention and interest on the part of the observer. To look at is excluded from this context as it is never applied to moving objects.

SEURATA: According to NSS seurata means 'to follow with one's eyes a moving object, a series of events or any changes that may occur'.

(46) Äiti seuraa lasten leikkimistä. (NSS V)
Mother watches her children playing.

When seurata implies attentive and concentrated looking its English equivalent is usually to watch. Finnish uses the verb seurata instead of katsoa and katsella in such expressions as seurata jalkapallo-ottelua, filmiä, kulkueen ohimarssia, etc. In the same context English makes use of to watch: to watch a football match, a film, a procession pass, etc.

Looking for the purpose of protection and safeguarding. - VAHTIA and VALVOA: The idea of looking for the purpose of protection and safeguarding is implied by several terms both in Finnish and English. Vahtia in Finnish and the English terms watch and keep watch often refer to an object which might be dangerous either to the surroundings or to the object itself or when the object is threatened by some kind of outward danger. An example of a Finnish visual verb being translated by an English non-visual one is seen in (47). The verb valvoa means 'keep an eye on, observe, control, take care of'.

(47) Poliisi valvoi liikennettä teillä viikonloppuna.
The police controlled the traffic over the weekend.

As valvoa above involves not only visual action but also other kinds of activities, the English verbs like watch and keep an eye on would be too passive to convey its meaning and therefore English takes a non-visual verb to control.

Looking with malicious intent. - A category of intentional verbs which provides several terms in Finnish but shows a scarcity of the corresponding terms in English is looking with malicious intent. Some of the verbs of this group are exemplified below.

VAANIA: Vaania means 'to watch somebody or something threateningly, wait for a moment to attack or observe somebody or something secretly in order to find out something'.

(48) Kissa vaanii hiirtä.
The cat is watching a mouse.

No verb can be found in English with the same semantic features as vaania. The closest equivalent seems to be to watch which implies close and careful observation, but which has no indication of a threat and secrecy. The idea of waiting and desire to harm can be conveyed by the phrase to lie in wait for, which, however, does not indicate vision, as in (49):

(49) Murhaaja vaani uhriaan pimeässä.
The murderer lay in wait for his victim in the dark.

To lie in wait for in the example above suggests that the murderer

cannot yet see his victim but is hiding in order to attack him when he comes into view.

VAKOILLA: This verb is a synonym for vaania, when the verbs refer to a secret watch for the purpose of finding out something about other people's things and affairs.

(50) Sotilaat vakoilivat vihollisen toimenpiteitä.
Soldiers spied upon the enemy's actions.

To spy upon means 'to watch secretly upon a person or other people's activities' (WY: 1172). Spy upon differs from watch in implying secrecy and often also hostile intentions. Actually the verb to spy seems to be the only English visual verb under discussion which includes the idea of evil intent.

Detailed looking. - Quite the opposite to the previous group is the field of detailed looking. There English provides more terms than Finnish if the frequentative verbs are left out of consideration. This section of English verbs is also more diverse, indicating more shades of meaning than Finnish.

TUTKIA: Tutkia according to NSS means 'to find out the character, quality, and substance of the object by looking carefully'.

(51) Hän näytti tutkivan karttaa huolellisesti.
He seemed to study/examine/inspect/scrutinize/scan a map carefully.

Example (51) is provided with several English verbs for tutkia. The choice of the term depends on the context and how detailed and analytic an examination the verb refers to. It is also determined by the observer's attitude to the object. Thus for instance to study can be used practically for any purpose while examine and inspect clearly imply that one is trying to find out if there is anything wrong with the object. Examine is defined as follows: 'to look at carefully, critically and methodically, so as to find out the real character of condition of a thing' (WEB: 730).

To inspect, according to the dictionaries, implies, like examine, detailed and critical observation. There is, however, a difference between general usage and the language of institutions such as government, army, law-courts and industry. In the former it does not often imply much more than careful observation but in the latter case it implies a thorough and

detailed search (WEB: 730) as

(52) Inspect these photographs of the two murder weapons. (Hayakawa 1968: 536)

To scrutinize means 'to look at with minuteness' (WEB: 730) and includes an idea of checking very carefully. Thus for example "to scrutinize voting slips" conveys careful looking and checking. To scan is a close synonym of scrutinize and means 'to look carefully over every part of the object' (WEB: 730), like to scan the horizon or scan a map detail by detail as in (51).

TUTKISKELLA and similar verbs: The most common verbs which Finnish uses besides tutkia and which are more or less synonyms are, for instance, tutkiskella, tarkastaa, tarkastella, sihdata, sihtailla, and tarkata. The English verbs which express the idea of detailed looking seem to have a kind of hierarchy as to the degree of thoroughness of action. A distinction can sometimes be made between inspect and examine, for the former suggests rather visual action, whereas the latter often includes more than that.

In the category of detailed looking there are a least two verbs which indicate the more specific character of the English verbs. They are to survey and to view. To survey means 'to take a general view, as from a height', and it is generally applied to inanimate objects in the meaning 'to inspect the condition of a house etc.' as in (53).

(53) Have the house surveyed before you offer to buy it. (ALD: 1016)

To view implies a detailed examination for some special purpose, for instance with the prospect of purchase (WEB: 733), and thus it can be applied to such contexts as 'to view the pictures, a house, grounds', etc. Inspection with an idea of buying is involved in the action conveyed by the following example:

(54) The house agents gave me an order to view. (ALD: 1116)

The dependence on the quality of the object is pointed out by some verbs of 'detailed looking'. Such verbs are for instance look over, see over, look into and audit. They all refer to an inanimate object. The first two denote examination of places, but the application of audit has an even narrower range of use, being restricted to the examination of accounts.

KATSOA and KATSELLA: A feature which is typical of some Finnish verbs of this category is the implication of search. It is included for instance in the verbs katsoa and katsella and several other verbs of vision in certain contexts.

(55) Metsä katseltiin läpikotaisin, mutta turhaan.
The forest was searched thoroughly but in vain.

(56) Lapset läksivät marjoja katselemaan. (NSS II)
The children went to look for some berries.

The equivalent of katsella in (55) is to search, which implies the careful examination of a place or an area, in order to find something missing or lost (RH: 1287). Example (56) also refers to one's attempt to find something and uses the verb look for.

Intensive looking. - The borderline between the verbs of this and the previous group is not clear-cut, because detailed looking presupposes strict attention and concentration. The verbs discussed here rather describe the manner of looking than the results gained by attentive viewing.

TUIJOTTAA: Tuijottaa according to NSS means 'to look at somebody or something long and steadily without turning one's eyes from the object'.

(57) Hän tuijotti etäisyyteen.
She stared/gazed into the distance.

Tuijottaa in this given context has two English equivalents. Stare and gaze both imply a steady and fixed look (WY: 474, 1180), but stare refers to an even 'ruder' and more fixed look than gaze, often implying different feelings, such as surprise or curiosity.

TUIJOTELLA: The frequentative verb tuijotella in the context below does not have a very strong implication of repetition, instead it stresses the idea of continuation with less intensity than tuijottaa.

(58) Tuijottelin vain hajamielisesti papereitani.
I was just gazing at my papers abstractedly.

Example (57) accepts both stare and gaze, while stare is not used in (58) due to the adverb abstractedly which contradicts the idea of the fixed and concentrated way of looking indicated by stare.

The group of verbs implying intensive looking is larger in Finnish than in English and most of the Finnish verbs are conveyed in English by

stare and gaze. The difference in the intensity of the action can often be seen in Finnish between the root-words and their frequentative derivatives which suggest an action with less intensity and concentration.

Looking into the distance. - An element included in several Finnish verbs but not in English ones is the idea of looking into the distance. Such verbs as tähystää, tähytä and tähdätä and their frequentative derivations all share the semantic component distance.

TÄHYSTÄÄ: Tähystää here means 'to look into the distance and wait for something to come into view'.

(59) Miehet tähystivät epätoivoisina merelle.
The men gazed out to the sea despairingly.

Tähystää in (59) has been translated by to gaze which implies a long and steady look but has no indication of distance. Tähystää can also refer to an object which cannot actually be seen yet:

(60) Miehet tähystivät turhaan laivaa.
The men watched for a ship in vain.

To watch for refers to an object which cannot yet be seen but the arrival of which is awaited (WY: 1378). This verb, however, does not fully correspond to tähystää for it, too, includes no component of distance. Example (61) is provided with several translations.

(61) Sotilaat tähyilivät vihollista metsästä.
(61a) Soldiers were scanning the woods for the enemy.
(61b) Soldiers were looking for the enemy in the woods.
(61c) Soldiers were trying to spot the enemy in the woods.

To scan in (61a) refers to a careful search and examination of every part of the object (WEB: 730). Look for is a neutral statement for using one's eyesight in seeking, and example (61c) refers to one's effort to see a particular object, making use of the verb to try and the perceptional verb to spot.

Cursory and repeated looking. - Comparison of the Finnish and English verbs of cursory looking shows that Finnish is richer in the quantity of terms but they do not necessarily very much differ from

each other and thus this section of the Finnish lexical field is not as diverse as it appears at first sight. A couple of the most typical verbs of this category are exemplified below.

KATSAHTAA: Katsahtaa means 'to look at briefly', having less duration than katsoa. According to Penttilä (1963: 309) the verbs with the endings -ahta, -ähtä imply a sudden performance of the action.

(62) He katsahtivat toisiinsa. (NSS II)
(62a) They looked quickly at each other.
(62b) They glanced at each other.

In (62a) the meaning of katsahtaa has been conveyed in English by the verb to look and the adverb quickly. Example (62b) uses the verb to glance which implies a hurried and momentary look.

Unlike the frequentative verbs discussed above katsahdella and the other verbs of this subsection indicate an action which consists of a succession of separate, repeated acts.

(63) Ihmiset katsahtelivat kysyvästi toisiinsa.
People kept glancing questioningly at each other.

In example (63) the idea of a repeated action is expressed in English by the verb to keep and the present participle of to glance. According to Curme (1935: 386) English often uses the auxiliary keep and the present participle to convey iterative aspect.

KURKISTAA and KURKISTELLA: Kurkistaa refers to a brief and hurried look, but differing from the previous verbs of this group, according to NSS it also means 'to look secretly, for instance from a hiding place, as by craning the neck or turning the head'. What kurkistaa implies as an action of brief duration kurkistella represents as repeated.

(64) Lapset kurkistelivat uteliaina ovesta.
The children were peeping/peeking curiously in at the door.

The verbs peep and peek used in (64) both mean 'to look hastily, secretly and curiously' (RH: 1063). Neither of them indicates the movement of the head as the Finnish verbs kurkistaa and kurkistella do. A feature shared by both languages and included in several verbs of this group is the implication of looking through a narrow opening, from behind something, etc. or looking secretly. This way of looking is in Finnish expressed for

instance by the verb tirkistää and in English by peep and peek.

Verbs expressing different feelings and facial expressions. - This category of verbs of intentional seeing mainly consists of descriptive or expressive words in which the Finnish vocabulary seems to be particularly rich and which, according to Hakulinen (1968: 260), are characteristic features of the Finnish language. The number of mere expressive root words is large and when the well-developed system of derivative endings is added to the root words the number of Finnish descriptive words can be increased almost indefinitely (Hakulinen: 260). Hakulinen (1968: 262) says that the richness of descriptive or expressive words is characteristic of primitive languages, while a relatively small number is a sign of the more intellectual character of the language. For example if French and German are compared the latter has more descriptive words. A difference can also be seen between the dialects in Finland. Descriptive words are used more rarely and in fewer numbers in western dialects than in eastern ones according to Hakulinen.

Most Finnish descriptive verbs imply a particular way of looking, along with some kind of feeling, like anger, suspicion, curiosity, surprise, etc. Examples of these descriptive verbs are given below.

MULKOILLA: Mulkoilla according to NSS can mean either 'to roll one's eyes or look at something with widely-open eyes, especially with anger or suspicion'.

(65) Hän vain mulkoili meitä vihaisesti eikä puhunut mitään.
He just glared/stared at us angrily and didn't say a word.

In example (65) mulkoilla has two translations but neither seems to cover the whole meaning of the Finnish verb. To glare implies an angry look (RH: 600), but it has no implication of rolling one's eyes or looking with wide-open eyes. To stare refers to a fixed prolonged look but does not indicate anger in itself.

MULJOTTAA: The verb muljottaa means 'to look at with wide-open or bulging eyes' and is often a synonym of mulkoilla.

(66) Miksi hän katsoa muljotti meitä sillä tavalla?
Why was he goggling at us in that way?

If the Finnish verb in (66) implies anger or suspicion these feelings

are not conveyed by to goggle which refers to rolling one's eyes or staring with bulging eyes as if with surprise or amazement. An angry look as pointed above can instead be expressed by to glare or stare with an adverb.

LUIHAUTTAA: The verb luihauttaa can have several connotations of feelings, such as anger, threatening behaviour, hostility and suspicion. Finnish provides several verbs with similar emotional implications to luihauttaa which are not exemplified here. Example (67) refers to some kind of hidden hostility or dishonesty.

(67) Varas katsoa luihautti alta kulmain poliisiin.
The thief gave a covert/furtive look at the policeman.

An action of brief duration has been conveyed by the expression to give a look. The manner of looking and the feeling connected with it are implied by the adjectives covert and furtive. Covert refers to a concealed look (ALD: 224), as if with carefulness not to be discovered. Furtive, too, implies something which is done secretly, as if to escape observation (ALD: 405).

VILKUILLA: There are some verbs in Finnish with implications of fear and uneasiness. Such a verb is vilkuilla, for instance. It means 'to keep glancing, especially uneasily, suspiciously or curiously'. Often vilkuilla is connected with dishonest actions, as in (68):

(68) Varas vilkuili puiden takaa, olikø ketään näkyvissä.
The thief kept glancing/peeping from behind the trees to see if anybody could be seen.

Representing the action as repeated vilkuilla has been translated by keep and the present participle of glance and peep. As the Finnish verb implies looking secretly from a hiding-place English can also make use of the verb to peep, which means 'to look slyly, cautiously and hastily' (WY: 842).

A common feature shared by a number of Finnish descriptive verbs is the implication of curiosity and interest. Most of these verbs also refer to some kind of facial expression, showing no great difference between each other.

TIIRATA: Tiirata means 'to look curiously or searchingly, often with narrowed eyes'.

(69) Hän tiirasi minua uteliaana silmälasiensa yli.
She peered curiously at me over her spectacles.

In example (69) the equivalent of the Finnish verb is to peer. It, like tiirata, implies a searching look along with narrowed eyes (WY: 343).

TILLISTELLÄ: Tillistellä also refers to curiosity and a rather steady look.

(70) Kyläläiset katsoa tillistelivät vieraita (uteliaina).
The village people stared curiously at the strangers.

The Finnish tillistellä could, without any adverb, convey an idea of curiosity, but an adverb is needed to indicate curiosity when the verb is translated into English. In example (70) English applies the verb stare, which implies a fixed look.

In Finnish there are a number of descriptive verbs which imply looking with a stupid expression on the face. Several verbs have no actual difference in meaning and the quantity of these descriptive verbs is increased by the ending system of the frequentative verbs. As with any other verb with emotional implications these verbs, too, often refer to the speaker's attitude to the other person and thus express a subjective and an emotionally coloured statement.

MÖLLÖTTÄÄ, TÖLLÖTTÄÄ, TÖLLISTÄÄ. These verbs and their derivations möllötellä, töllötellä and töllistellä mean 'to stare open-mouthedly or with wide-open eyes'.

(71) Hän katsella möllötti, ikään kuin ei olisi ymmärtänyt minua lainkaan.
He was gaping/staring stupidly as if he hadn't understood me at all.

(72) Hän töllisteli suu auki ohikulkijoita.
He was gaping at the passers-by.

If the Finnish verb indicates that one looks with an open mouth English uses the verb to gape as in (72). If the context does not imply whether one stares open-mouthedly or not, the verb to stare conveys the idea of a fixed look and looking as in surprise, amazement or rudeness. Thus both verbs have been used in (71).

THE VERBS OUTSIDE THE FINNISH FIELD

Some verbs which lack a counterpart in Finnish, i.e. verbs which

point out a lexical gap in the Finnish field are discussed below. Mention can be made of such verbs as to contemplate and pore over both of which refer to thinking and looking at the same time and lack an exact equivalent in Finnish. More interesting perhaps, from the point of view of this study, however, are some English verbs implying different feelings and facial expressions. Being rich in descriptive verbs Finnish provides a wide selection of these, varying by the different feelings included in them and also different facial expressions. There are some English verbs, however, which lack a corresponding term in Finnish.

TO SCOWL and TO FROWN both mean 'to look at with an angry sullen glance, with a scowl, by puckering the brows in displeasure' (RH: 571, 1281).

(73) The prisoner scowled at the judge.

This could be translated into Finnish for instance thus:

Vanki katsoi tuomariin vihaisesti kulmiaan rypistäen/otsaansa rypistäen/kulmat kurtussa, etc.

As there is no equivalent term for the verb to scowl Finnish uses the verb katsoa 'to look at' and refers to the prisoner's facial expressions by using the adverb vihaisesti and different nouns.

TO LEER: To leer implies looking lustfully with a sideways glance (RH: 817), and refers only to a personal object.

(74) They leaned back in their chairs, leering at the girls as they passed.

There is no verb in Finnish with the same semantic components as to leer. The verb vilkuilla is sometimes used to connote a similar idea as to leer and would perhaps best translate the meaning of the English verb in (74), too.

TO OGLE: To ogle means 'to look at with amorous, flirtatious, meaning glances' (WY: 796). The subject referred to by this verb is usually marked with the feature [+male].

(75) He ogles at all the attractive secretaries in the office. (ODCIE: 211)

As Finnish lacks a verb with the same semantic features as to ogle Finnish has to explain its meaning by making use of the verb katsella and a suitable

adverb which conveys the particular way of looking implied by ogle. Such an adverb could be in (75) for instance flirttailevasti. Other verbs referring to a particular feeling or facial expression which point out lexical gaps in the Finnish semantic field, are for instance gloat, squint, and gaze.

One category of verbs falling outside the Finnish lexical field are terms which imply one's intention not to take notice of something.

TO IGNORE: To ignore indicates refraining from noticing or recognizing someone or something (RH: 709).

(76) He ignored the mess on the table.
Hän ei ollut huomaavinaan pöydällä olevaa epäjärjestystä.

The Finnish expression 'olla tekevinään' implies pretence on the part of the person and a similar negative construction of the verb huomata has been used to convey the idea of to ignore in (76).

TO OVERLOOK: To overlook means 'to pay no attention to' (ALD: 696): The object referred to by this verb is either something inanimate or something which is, for instance, instigated by a person, such as faults, misconduct, etc. but not usually referring directly to an animate object.

(77) I overlooked some of the bad mistakes he had made in the test.

Example (77) could be rendered in Finnish by the same expression as in (76) or by the negative form of the verb välittää.

TO DISREGARD: To disregard also means 'to pay no attention to' (RH: 415) and usually refers only to inanimate objects as in (78).

(78) Disregard the footnotes. (RH: 415)

In the example above 'disregard' could be translated into Finnish by jättää huomioon ottamatta or by the negative form of kiinnittää huomiota.

CONCLUSION

The contrastive analysis of the verbs of vision was made on the basis of translation within the frames of two lexical fields and the results tend to describe the general outline of these two semantic fields. All the Finnish sub-categories of perceptional seeing have corresponding categories in English. One category which is not represented

in the Finnish field is that which includes the idea of failing to see something. A general impression of the perceptional verbs included in this analysis is that the English terms are generally more specific than the corresponding Finnish terms.

As to the quantity of the verbs of intentional seeing in both languages, they exceed the number of the verbs of perceptional seeing. In Finnish this category of verbs is even larger than the corresponding one in English due to the derivation system. A typical feature of the Finnish vocabulary is the abundance of descriptive words, which also give their own character to the Finnish lexical field. It is in this area of the semantic field where Finnish points out several lexical gaps in English and, on the other hand, it is English verbs implying different feelings and facial expressions which lack equivalent terms in Finnish.

The general impression given by the contrastive analysis on the basis of the verbs of vision is that Finnish and English interpret the process of perception and looking partly in the same way, but the lack of a corresponding term or even a whole category of terms in either language is proof also of a different view of the subject.

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ABREVIATIONS

ALD = Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English

HEWD = Hamlyn Encyclopedic World Dictionary

NSS = Nykysuomen sanakirja

ODCIE = Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English

WEB = Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms

WY = The Universal Dictionary of the English Language